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EASTERN

F.O.
371

1947

PALESTINE

File No. 4740

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Reference:-
FO 371 / 61927

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UNTIL

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1947

PALESTINE

E 4740

JULY 1947

Registry Number } E 4740/4740/31
 FROM } 10 Minutes
 No. } R. McAlpin
 Dated } 23, May 1947
 Received in Registry } H. Ford -

Subsist, Margate Labour Party Conference
 Note: S.P. will speak at Conference
 in Palestine, who for short notes
 to be prepared that S.P. answer in reply
 in question tabled on the Agenda.

Last Paper.

(Minutes.)

References.

In S.P. Minute by W. Gann 26/-

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Please see also: on
 E 4740 - Resolution on Palestine resolved by
 Labour Party Conference
 E 4743 - Notes from C.O. about time to
 be taken by S.P.S.
 E 4746 - Extracts from which actually
 made by S.P.S. but Margate S.P.

7/6
 Mrs. Sims
 June 4

61927

(Action completed.)

(Index)

[Handwritten signature]

[Handwritten signature]

Next Paper.

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Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

Minutes.

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E 4740 *Letter for record.*

Eastern Department

JUN 1947

The Secretary of State will be speaking on Foreign Affairs at the Labour Party Conference at Margate on Thursday 29th May and wishes to comment on and reply to the various points raised and criticisms levelled by regional branches of the Labour Party. I attach excerpts from the Agenda of the Conference, giving the motions tabled on Palestine by these branches and I should be grateful if short notes could be prepared for the Secretary of State on the main points raised therein.

Could you please let us have these notes not later than Monday evening, 26th May?

RSC McAlpine

23rd May, 1947.

I submit a minute herewith

J. G. Carran
28/5

Very many thanks. The S/S found this very useful at Margate.

Jt.
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Palestine

(1) That this Conference deplores the loss of British lives in Palestine, and asks the Government to take immediate steps to hand over the responsibility for Palestine to the United Nations Organization.

AYR BURGHs D.L.P.

(2) That this Annual Conference is of the opinion that the mandate for Palestine be handed over to the United Nations Organization, in order that a world organization may settle a matter that is a responsibility of the world.

SUTTON AND CHEAM D.L.P.

AMENDMENT

Line 1 : Delete all after "opinion" and insert "that the future peaceful development of Palestine is only possible on the basis of Jewish-Arab-Christian co-operation and welcomes the reference to the United Nations of a problem which is the responsibility of the whole world."

HAMMERSMITH (SOUTH) D.L.P.

(3) This Conference notes the decision of His Majesty's Government to refer the Palestine problem to U.N.O. It places on record the past decisions of the Labour movement and, in particular, that :—

- (a) Conference of 1939 declared that the White Paper of 1939, by imposing minority status on the Jews, by departing from the principles of economic absorptive capacity governing Jewish immigration, by making Jewish entry dependent upon Arab consent, and by restricting Jewish land settlement, violates the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and in the mandate ;
- (b) Conference of 1940 requested the Parliamentary Labour Party to continue its opposition to the White Paper of 1939 with a view to rescinding that policy ;
- (c) Conference of 1943 demanded for the Jewish people an equal status among the free nations of the world ; and
- (d) Conference of 1944 endorsed the International Postwar Settlement Report which laid down that " there is neither hope nor meaning in a ' Jewish National Home ' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe."

This Conference therefore requests His Majesty's Government to act in the spirit of these declarations both in the interim period until U.N.O. takes a final decision and in presenting the British Government's case before the United Nations.

POALE ZION—JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY.

(4) This Conference deeply deplores the effect on the good name of Great Britain abroad because of its Palestine policy, and strongly urges the Government to change the policy followed in the last two years to conform with the policy laid down by this Party from 1917 to 1945 in innumerable resolutions, statements and reports.

HACKNEY (NORTH) D.L.P.

(5) That this Conference, pending a decision on Palestine by the United Nations Organization, calls upon His Majesty's Government to repeal the terms of the 1939 White Paper and permit the immediate immigration of Jews into Palestine up to its full economic absorptive capacity. Furthermore, Conference urges the Government to support the traditional policy of the Labour Party as expressed at previous Annual Conferences when this matter is raised by the United Nations Organization.

EXCHANGE (MANCHESTER) D.L.P.

(6) Mindful of the tragedy which has befallen the Jewish people during the war, and the suffering still endured by the survivors in Europe, the Conference stresses the need for speedy and effective action to implement the policy on Palestine laid down by successive conferences. It calls on His Majesty's Government to abrogate forthwith the White Paper of 1939, and the Land Transfers Regulation of 1940. It urges the Government to facilitate Jewish immigration and land settlement in accordance with the original purpose of the mandate, convinced that this act of justice will restore confidence in the mandatory power and produce an atmosphere in which a final solution based on Party policy can be brought about.

LEEDS (CENTRAL) D.L.P.

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(2) That this Conference recognizes that closer co-operation with the U.S.S.R. lead to a much more rapid economic recovery in Great Britain and throughout the world. Accordingly this Conference urges the Government to undertake action that will facilitate such co-operation.

EXCHANGE (MANCHESTER) D.L.P.

(3) That this Conference urges the Government to make urgent efforts to complete substantial trade agreements with the Soviet Government and the new Socialist Governments in Europe as a positive effort in building a stable economy in Britain and Europe and so safeguarding Britain against the possible effects of a slump should it hit the Capitalist economy of the United States of America.

HERTFORD D.L.P.

(4) That this Conference recommends that a trade commission be sent to the U.S.S.R. with a view to exploring the possibilities of mutual trading on the widest basis, one of the benefits of which would be the offsetting of any repercussions which would arise from an American slump.

PADDINGTON (SOUTH) D.L.P.

(5) This Conference urges upon the Government to speed up mutual trading between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, believing this to be the soundest method of consolidating friendship between both nations.

BETHNAL GREEN L.P.

(6) That this Conference is of the opinion that the Government should do all in its power to implement a trade pact with the Soviet Union which it considers is of vital importance both from an economic and cultural point of view.

CHICHESTER D.L.P.

(7) This Conference suggests that the British Government should be more energetic in its efforts to co-operate with the U.S.S.R. and encourage wider trading developments.

DEWSBURY D.L.P.

Diplomatic Personnel

(1) This Conference urges the speedy replacement of foreign office officials and representatives of His Majesty's Government at home and abroad by people more in touch with the aspirations of the common people of the world.

WATERLOO T.C. AND D.L.P.

(2) This Conference is of the opinion that the Diplomatic Corps should be broadened so as to include more people with working class background.

NATIONAL UNION OF VEHICLE BUILDERS.

(3) This Conference recommends there be drastic changes in the Diplomatic Service; and our representatives at Foreign Embassies shall be in sympathy with the declared foreign policy of the Labour Party.

KNUTSFORD D.L.P.

(4) That this Conference, while aware of the difficulty of immediately effecting changes in its Foreign Office Staff, urges the Government to take immediate steps to train more able and understanding members among our own ranks to take over the more important diplomatic posts abroad.

TOTTENHAM (SOUTH) L.P.

AMENDMENTS

(a) Add "and appoint a Labour Attaché to each Embassy, whose function shall be to act in liaison with the Labour Representatives of the country to which the Embassy is attached."

LEWISHAM (WEST) L.P.

(b) Line 2: Delete all after "immediate steps" and insert "to broaden the social background of the Foreign Office staff by introducing such changes in methods of selection and facilities for training as will achieve this object."

KENSINGTON (SOUTH) D.L.P.

Conscription

(1) This Conference calls upon the Government to abandon its intention to bring forward legislation to impose conscription in this country.

FALING (WEST) D.L.P.

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PALESTINE

Notes for the Secretary of State's speech at the
Labour Party Conference at Margate
on 29th May.

The essential points in the motions tabled on Palestine are:-

1. That the Mandate should be handed over to the United Nations Organisation.
2. That the "White Paper Policy" should be abrogated, i.e. that there should be increased immigration into Palestine (either "up to Palestine economic absorptive capacity" Resolution 5 or "in accordance with the original purpose of the Mandate" Resolution 6).

The principal lines of criticism are likely to be:-

- (a) That the Government has not lived up to its pre-election pledges and
- (b) That it has "departed from the Mandate".

The following lines of reply are suggested:-

The present is not the moment for a critical discussion of the Palestine question. The Government have sought a fair solution of the question in accordance with their obligations under the Mandate to both Jews and Arabs, but it has proved impossible to find a solution which both sides would accept. The Mandate has, in fact, proved unworkable in its present form because of the conflicting obligations which it imposes:-

".....the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917 by the Government of His Britannic Majesty..... in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country,....."(Preamble)

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the Preamble (quoted above) and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion." (Article 2).

"The administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions....."(Article 6).

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We have therefore referred the matter to the United Nations. As the Secretary of State said in his speech in the House of Commons on 25th February:-

"The issue which the United Nations must consider and decide is, first shall the claims of the Jews that Palestine is to be a Jewish state be admitted; second, shall the claim of the Arabs that it is to be an Arab state, with safeguards for the Jews under the decision for national home be admitted; or, third, shall it be a Palestinian State, in which the interest of both communities are as carefully balanced and protected as possible?

While the question is sub-judice with the United Nations Organisation, it is not the moment for His Majesty's Government to make any changes in their policy, but

- (a) It is wrong to say that His Majesty's Government are not loyally carrying out the Mandate, - they are doing their very best, in extremely difficult circumstances and, all things considered, doing it well. Perhaps that is one of the facts which the ~~fact~~ finding Committee will find out.
- (b) It is wrong to say (as Dr. Silver said in New York) that we are following the White Paper policy of 1939. The White Paper of 1939 provided for the admission of some 75,000 immigrants over the following 5 years, after which no further Jewish immigration would be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine were prepared to acquiesce in it. But immigration is continuing. The quota of 75,000 has already been exceeded by some 25,000 and the present rate of immigration (18,000 a year) is considerably higher than was laid down in the White Paper (see also the marked passage ^{page 25} on the attached copy of the Secretary of State's speech of 25th February).

On the subject of immigration the "mandate itself" merely lays down that the administration "shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions" (Article 6) nor is there any reference in the Mandate to "economic absorptive capacity". This criterion was first introduced in the White Paper of 1922 and was subsequently utilised as a convenient yard stick for the measurement of Jewish immigration. But it is not an immutable standard as the Royal Commission reported 10 years ago that the principle of economic absorptive capacity had become inadequate and ignored factors in the situation which wise statesmanship could not disregard. They recommended the fixing of an over-riding limit, the number proposed being only two thirds of the number actually being admitted at present.

The Secretary of State may wish to take the opportunity to say once again that the little country of Palestine cannot solve the question of the Jewish displaced persons in Europe. The problem of disposed persons is a vast one, for which the International Relief Organisation has been created and the solution of the problem is not going to depend on Palestine but on the extent to which the countries of the world are prepared to cooperate to save these unhappy people and give them a new start in life.

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1947

PALESTINE

E 4743

4 JUN 1947

Registry Number } E 4743 / ~~27~~ 31.
 FROM Mr. Ernest Jones
 No. (1)
 Dated to Mr. Bevin
 Received in Registry } 23 11/47
 4 June

Politic, Margate Labour Party Conference
 Transmit copy of notes giving list
 for Dept to take a full reply to
 question at the Conference on Palestine.

Last Paper.

4740

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

opt. P.R. Edmunds
 80.
 from
 Mr. Edmunds
 at May 31.

(Action completed.)

PL 7/26/46

(Index)

12/1/48

Next Paper.

4745

(Minutes.)

Please see E 4740

D. J. Bevin
June 4

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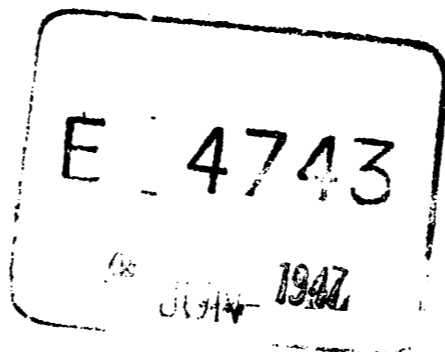


COLONIAL OFFICE,

DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

To see this
at 11 AM Sat
Wednesday
EJ

Ced



23/5/47

My dear Eines

Re your holiday you mentioned to me the Palestine Debate at the Labour Party Conference and suggested we should give a line to take for your reply.

I have done the enclosed notes. The less said at Conference now the better. The matter is being discussed by U.N.O. The better. But I think it would be well to make two points

of the delays have not been of our making & in any case both Jews & Arabs refused to settle within the mandate

by the White Paper policy has been modified as to make it obsolete & irrelevant.

Good wishes

Yours sincerely

H. Green Jones

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PALESTINE.

1. The composite resolution has not been produced yet but as it will presumably be based on the Resolutions already on the Order Paper it will urge that

- a) Labour Government Policy should be based on declarations made before it came to power,
- b) - that there has been a departure from that policy in so far as the Government has not abrogated the White Paper 1939, or opened the gates of Palestine to Jews or pressed on vigorously with the building of the Jewish National Home.
- c) The policy of the Government will be condemned particularly in the light of our inability to absorb into Palestine the Jews and dispossessed persons in Europe.

2. I think that any discussion of the Palestine question at this moment will serve no good purpose now that the matter is before UNO and the British Government will be restating its own position to the factfinding Commission. The Foreign Secretary stated to Parliament the course of

events

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events which brought the Government to the conclusion that the only possible way was for the U.K.C. to consider the Palestine issue after the rejection of all the Government's efforts to find a settlement.

3. Nevertheless, the Conference should be informed on several points:-

1) the record of the Government is not one of procrastination and evasion

a) When Labour came to Office there were commitments to Jews and Arabs regarding immigration, and U.S.A. in this were equally entangled;

b) in view of the overriding requirements of the Mandate a settlement could only be secured within its terms, and to do this the cooperation of the U.S.A. was sought for U.K. could not of itself carry the heavy commitments involved and find a new approach to the problem;

c) delays have been due either to the necessity of waiting on the U.S.A., or to the intransigence of the Jews themselves.

More precisely the delay arose in the first

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first instance from the appointment of the Anglo-American Committee (10th December, 1945) and by the Anglo-American negotiations after its report was submitted (i.e. the study by experts concluded on the 26th July, 1946). There followed the Palestine Conference (first stage 10th December - 2nd October, 1946) the interlude, during which the United Nations Assembly met, and the World Zionist Congress met in Basle, the idea being that Jewish participation, thereafter, might be possible. In January, the Conference reassembled, concluding on the 14th February.

All parties in the House were agreed as to the necessity of making the attempt to secure American cooperation. It will be seen that this broke down finally as late as the end of July, 1946. After that there was certainly no delay in convening a Conference, a course to which the Government were pledged. The interval during which the U.N.O. meeting took place and the Palestine Conference finally decided Jewish policy could not be avoided.

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4. The White Paper Policy has been departed from in major respects. It dealt with policy under three heads, constitution, immigration and land.

(i) Constitution

Owing to the impossibility of producing any sort of welcome agreement between the two communities in Palestine, no progress has ever been made in the constitutional field, notwithstanding the various attempts, ~~orig. under~~ ^{beginning as far back as} Lord Samuel's High Commissionership.

(ii) Immigration

The White Paper in this regard has been abrogated. Under the White Paper 75,000 immigrants were to be admitted in five years, after which immigration was to cease. There has been no such cessation and the quota prescribed has already been exceeded by 25,500. The present rate of immigration is 20 per cent higher than the average monthly admission connoted by the White Paper quota, which included special provision for the admission of refugees. It gives an
annual

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annual inflow which has only five times been exceeded in the whole 26 years of our administration of Palestine.

(iii) Land Transfers Regulations

These were dictated entirely by economic and not by political considerations. ^{They} ~~It~~ discriminated against all countries and races except Palestinian Arabs and did not discriminate against Jews only. It was only after attempts on other lines had failed to prevent a notoriously improvident peasantry from disposing of their lands in return for some purely temporary advantage, with a consequent increase in the already serious congestion on Arab agricultural holdings, that the Government of Palestine was forced to the conclusion that the only solution lay in giving up the idea of protecting the individual peasant and turning attention to preserving the integrity of Arab land as a whole. This conclusion had been reached long before the Conference of 1939, and it is safe to say that, had

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had the White Paper never been promulgated, the Land Transfers Regulations would have been enacted in the ordinary course of local legislation.

There is no discrimination in the Regulations against the Jews as such. Any restriction or prohibition operates equally against other non-Arab residents of Palestine, including Europeans and Armenians, Arabs from neighbouring territories and, in fact, all save the Palestinian Arabs whom the Regulations are designed to protect. Legislation of this kind is not peculiar to Palestine; it is in force in many other parts of the Empire, with the object of preventing ^{or restricting} alienation of ~~the~~ land ~~or~~ ^{which the} normally resident population in the territory depends.

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OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

31st May, 1947.

Enter 16

E4743/4740/31

Dear Edmonds,

The Foreign Secretary, who was away on holiday before going to Margate, asked me to thank the Colonial Secretary very much for his letter of the 23rd May, in which Mr. Creech Jones suggested what line Mr. Bevin should take about Palestine at the Labour Party Conference.

The Foreign Secretary had Mr. Creech Jones's notes with him at Margate and found them of the greatest possible help.

I am writing this to you as the Foreign Secretary does not return from his holiday until Monday. Could you please pass on Mr. Bevin's thanks to the Colonial Secretary?

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) J. P. E. C. HENNINGER

E. R. Edmonds, Esq.,
Colonial Office.

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17

1947

PALESTINE

E 4745

4 JUN 1947

Registry Number

E 4745 / 4740/31

FROM

Peck, L. A.

No.

Labour Party

Dated

Labour Party

Received in Registry

4 Jan 1947

Patent, Margaret Labour Party Conference

Minutes resolution put forward at Labour Conference by Peck L. A. which was rejected.

Last Paper.

4743

(Minutes.)

Please see E 4740

8/6
4/6

References.

Dr. Dent
June 4

(Print.)

8/6
4/6

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed)

JCM/6/6

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13/9/46

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Resolution put forward at Margate
Labour Conference, and rejected.

POALE ZION - JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY.

(AGENDA PAGE 39, No. 3)

"This Conference notes the decision of His Majesty's Government to refer the Palestine problem to U.N.O. It places on record the past decisions of the Labour movement and, in particular, that:-

- Rejected*
- (a) Conference of 1939 declared that the White Paper ¹⁹⁴⁷ 1939, by imposing minority status on the Jews, by departing from the principles of economic absorptive capacity governing Jewish immigration, by making Jewish entry dependent upon Arab consent, and by restricting Jewish land settlement, violates the solemn pledges contained in the Balfour Declaration and in the mandate;
- (b) Conference of 1940 requested the Parliamentary Labour Party to continue its opposition to the White Paper of 1939 with a view to rescinding that policy;
- (c) Conference of 1943 demanded for the Jewish people an equal status among the free nations of the world; and
- (d) Conference of 1944 endorsed the International Postwar Settlement Report which laid down that "there is neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe."

This Conference therefore requests His Majesty's Government to act in the spirit of these declarations both in the interim period until U.N.O. takes a final decision and in presenting the British Government's case before the United Nations."

Please call SOUTH HAMMERSMITH.

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PALESTINE

4 JULY 1947

Registry Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

E 4746/4747/31

FO

Minute

11 June

31 May 1947
4 sent -

Palestine, Abirgala Labour Party Conference.

Transmit extract relating to Palestine from speech by DofD at Labour Party Conference, Abirgala.

Last Paper.

4745

References.

2611

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Hel	Bairo	1050
	Bagdad	450
	Beirut	349
	Jeddah	13
	Amman	14
	Damascus	15

May 31

(Action completed.)

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PCW 6/6

3/17/48

Next Paper:

8643

(Minutes.)
Extracts dealing with Middle East as a whole are in E 4753/2450/65
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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

(1385) Wt. 49998-114 200mm 2/47 G.S.S. Gp. 620

Registry No.

Top Secret
Secret
Confidential
Restricted
Open

Draft telegram to

Cairo no: 050 May 31/47

Beirut no: 450 349

Jedda no: 13/SAU

Amman no: 14/SAU

Damascus no: 15/SAU

en clair

No 2 Dept

OUT FILE

E 4746 JUN 1947

Supportant

Following extracts relating to Palestine and Egypt from my speech on May 29th to Labour Party Conference, Beirut, and from E to F [Here insert from C to D] on attached sheet

Cairo please pass paving to Jedda and Amman Beirut please pass paving to Damascus.

RG 31/5

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unable to accept. I do not despair as regards these international waterways if time is allowed. If some method is ultimately arrived at, if you can get security through the United Nations, then these things will fall into their proper place.

C

Reference was made by Mr. Rosette to Palestine. ~~I am not going to say one word against anything that the Jews have done in developing Palestine or in resettlement, but that is really not the issue.~~ He painted an interesting picture of the developments there. I am not going to say one word against anything that the Jews have done in developing Palestine or in resettlement, but that is really not the issue. It became quite clear to my colleagues and me in the negotiation that what was involved was a far more fundamental question than that. Many Jews whom I have met, and particularly British Jews who have been accustomed to our methods of approach, would, I believe, have settled this problem, but the fact is that there are 1,200,000 Arabs there and about 700,000 Jews, or rather more. There is nothing in the Mandate which would warrant me or the British Government taking a step to deprive the Arabs of their rights or deprive them of their liberties or deprive them of their land. The idea is that the Jews should be allowed to immigrate up to any number without let or hindrance. That is not in the Mandate and that is not in the Balfour Declaration. I am not saying whether it is just or unjust that it should be done. But I say that it was not in the power of Great Britain to give it. Therefore, we have referred back to the United Nations to settle this Jewish problem, I hope, once and for all. We have got the Mandate under the League of Nations, and I thought that the proper thing to do when you could not get a settlement was to refer it back to them to settle. I can understand the position of the Jews. It is really a war between Jewry and the gentile, provoked by the horrible treatment of the Jews, not merely by Hitler but by the persecution which has gone on for many years. That is, I think, a fair statement of the facts, and it is an international thing. As a matter of fact most of the policy in recent years has been run from New York and how can I deal with American nationals? I really cannot. The only way that you could bring the United States, Russia and everybody else, into a position in which this thing was discussed with a view to a settlement, would be if, instead of denouncing Great Britain, they were in a conference room to put their own proposals forward to be accepted or not accepted. I do not know of any other country in the world which would have stood with toleration as much as we have had to stand in this business in the last couple of years. However, the issue is sub judice. As I said in the House of Commons, if there had been only 100,000 refugees going in, I could have settled it.

I have been denounced in all newspapers of the world by Jewish representatives as anti-Semitic. I am told that I did not accept the Anglo-American report. Mr. Crossman was a member of the Committee and he knows that America accepted only one point in that report and the other nine points were discarded. I was willing to go on with the ten in the hope that we would find a solution. Now it is sub judice. There it is.

My advice is the advice which was given by Mr. Solomon, who suggested that no resolution be carried on it. Let the thing go. Let U.N.O. deal with it. We shall try to do our best, but I have been asked as to whether I can commit myself to carry out what U.N.O. says. I cannot speak for the Government because we have not decided, but I .

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personally would want to know whether all the other United Nations would accept the solution as well. It is not enough for me on behalf of Great Britain to sit there and accept it, and I want to know, and I shall want to know, whether this thing is settled once and for all. The thing is so bitter, feelings are so high between Jew and Arab, and it is so difficult all over the world that I will say nothing more.

I have been asked several times today why we do not rest everything on the United Nations. Our record on the United Nations is really very good. We have accepted every organization that the United Nations have put up, such as the Bank and the various European Commissions. I have a whole list but it would take up too much time if I read it out. I asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer today what it had cost us last year in trying to run the organizations created by the United Nations. I found that we have spent 7³/₄ millions in U.N.E.S.C.O. and things of that kind. That is not a bad contribution for a country like ours, seeing the difficulties in which we are.

Then we have had a little unfortunate experience at the United Nations. There was an incident recently which I think was really terrible. It has been glossed over. We had ships blown up in the Corfu Channel. We had 44 innocent sailors sent to the bottom. You know what would have happened in the old days. The Navy would have been told to fire back. We did not do that. We kept our patience and we referred it to U.N.O. The Security Council went into it, and by an overwhelming majority came to a decision. I asked what is the justification for Russia vetoing in a case like that? I can understand vetoing where great fundamental principles are involved, where it is war, and the rest of it, but where you are trying to keep tempers down, to keep people cool, and to try to use the arbitration machinery of the Security Council, I feel that this use of the veto was a grave abuse of what was intended. Now it has gone to the International Court to be determined. I say these things because I want U.N.O. to work. On these outer questions of Palestine, Egypt, the Middle East and the Far East I will not take up the time of the Conference by saying any more.

It has been argued, however, that owing to my "unfortunate" policy, I am embarrassing the country by our having to keep large numbers of troops. I give the lie direct to that. We are just two years out of the war, and I very carefully made comparisons with the end of the 1914-18 war. Then we had armies in Russia supporting Kolchak and Denikin. We had great disturbance in Egypt when we formed the Protectorate, which the first Labour Government had to clear up.

E In Egypt something like 400,000 troops have had to be got out of that area as well as the great transit connections which you cannot eradicate in a minute. Those have had to be moved. Feelings were running high. It looked like an explosion every day with the end of the war and the feelings that had developed. I am happy at the fact that the communications, the equipment and the troops

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have been moved out of Alexandria and out of Cairo and shifted down on to the Canal without the loss of a single soldier and without a row.

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As the world settles down - I think by about the end of 1948 - we shall be able to go down to the number required in the Treaty - that is just over 10,000 men.

Palestine: you all know what are the reasons on that point. We got the troops out of Indonesia much quicker than we expected, and what I am again proud about is that they went in there to take out the prisoners and the refugees, and they came out, in spite of the fighting, with the thanks of both parties. Greece - I will refer to the political end of the Greek question in a moment. There our troops are down to about 5,000, and when certain other events happen, they will be out altogether. The big block of troops abroad is due to occupation, and that is not the fault of the British Government. We strove hard with the five Peace Treaties. We readily agreed to ratification, and we have been waiting for the other Powers to ratify. America has just carried it through with her procedure before the Senate, and I am waiting now for the deposit of the ratification, and the more quickly it is done, the better I think there are something like 54,000 men coming out of Venezia Giulia within 90 days after the Treaty is ratified. These troops are held not by us, but as a result of the non-ratification of the Italian treaty. The number of British troops that will be left in Trieste will be 5,000, and from the moment the Treaty is ratified and the new territories established and the Governor appointed, within 4 months that 5,000 should come out.

The Indian situation is not a matter of foreign policy. It is a question of readjustment and giving independence and so on which affects the number of troops there. In Germany the Control Council is now endeavouring to get agreement in the light of the present situation as to the number of troops that we can reduce with safety for the occupation of Germany. Would any member of the Conference say that it is my fault that the troops are still in Austria? Have I not travailed now for two years to get an Austrian treaty? I think these glib statements appealing to passion are not good enough. Those who make them ought to come to the rostrum and give the facts.

The overseas commitments of the British Empire when the new Treaties are all cleaned up, (which at the speed they are now going may take two years - a very creditable speed) - will be the smallest it has ever had.

If I may turn now to the resolutions and questions in the debate, we have first of all the innocent looking resolution moved by Mr. Zilliacus. He told us he was not an expert. I thought that his resolution, however, must have been drafted by an expert in deception. He put in it, in the first few words, what everybody would accept, and he put everything else further on which the Government cannot accept. All of us who have been connected with the Trades Union movement know this very well. Let us look at the second paragraph of the resolution. It urges the Government to give a lead in applying this principle by instructing the

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Service Departments to frame their estimates and make their strategic dispositions on the assumption Britain need not prepare for self-defence against either the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. If that is accepted, what is the assumption? The assumption is that that is what we have been doing. That is the clear deduction, that we have had some sort of machinery for this purpose, employed somewhere, according to a certain strategy. We are doing nothing of the kind, and I cannot accept what is implied in the resolution.

Then there is a reference to the emergence of rival groups. If anyone in this world has struggled to prevent Europe being divided, the British Government has done it and done it at great cost. The facts are that at Potsdam we agreed on economic unity. At Potsdam we agreed to throw into the pool all the products of Germany before we took reparations of any kind. We agreed to central agencies. Did the British Government decline to do it? Nothing of the sort. Did the American Government, which is so much in the picture, decline to do it? Nothing of the sort. The opposition with regard to central agencies came from Franco, owing to her attitude towards the Ruhr and the Saar, with regard to which France wanted a settlement first, and had very good reasons for it. She was not at Potsdam. It would have been better if she had been, and much trouble might not then have arisen.

But on the pooling of resources for the whole of Germany, we never got one pound of food for the Western zone from Eastern Germany. In addition, there was a large area which was transferred to Polish administration which went out of the economy altogether. We have been trying all the time to create economic unity, but it has broken down on an entirely separate issue. The issue is that we cannot agree to reparations out of current production - I repeat that. We cannot agree to reparations out of current production before we have a balanced economy. Is that unreasonable? All you do is to find foreign exchange to buy food. As a matter of fact, last year German food production was not up to the 100%. If the whole resources of Germany had been pooled under a basis of economic unity - none of it taken out during 1946/47 - the amount of external food that would have had to be taken would have been reduced by over 20 per cent. Well, that is a very serious item. We are giving instructions to our zone to produce 100 per cent. or more if they can on the 1938 figure, so that even with our own zone and the American zone, with the proper systems of collection we hope to introduce, this will be reduced. I shall do all I can to keep the economic unity of Germany. But the way in which this is put in the resolution implies that it is we who have been guilty.

There is a reference in this resolution to capitalist America - being subservient to capitalist America. Not one fact was brought out on the platform to show in what way we have been subservient. We have had to borrow and we did not like borrowing, but on the borrowing we made an open agreement which was reported to Parliament, with all its obligations. May I say - I think I am entitled to say this now - but I have no feeling about it - that when I was in the United States there was a rebellion so-called against me in the House of Commons. What was I doing? Not discussing foreign policy at all. I had telegrams

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En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO HIS MAJESTY'S REPRESENTATIVES

- AT: CAIRO NO. 1050.
- BAGDAD NO. 450.
- BEIRUT NO. 349.
- JEDDA NO. 13 Saving.
- AMMAN NO. 14 Saving.
- DAMASCUS NO. 15 Saving.

May 31st, 1947.

D. 4.38. a.m. June 1st, 1947.

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IMPORTANT.

Following are extracts relating to Palestine and Egypt from my speech on May 29th to Labour Party Conference. Begins.

Reference was made by Mr. Rosette to Palestine. He painted an interesting picture of the developments there. I am not going to say one word against anything that the Jews have done in developing Palestine or in resettlement, but that is really not the issue. It became quite clear to my colleagues and me in the negotiation that what was involved was a far more fundamental question than that. Many Jews whom I have met, and particularly British Jews who have been accustomed to our methods of approach, would, I believe, have settled this problem, but the fact is that there are 1,200,000 Arabs there and about 700,000 Jews, or rather more. There is nothing in the Mandate which would warrant me or the British Government taking a step to deprive the Arabs of their rights or deprive them of their liberties or deprive them of their land. The idea is that the Jews should be allowed to immigrate up to any number without let or hindrance. That is not in the Mandate and that is not in the Balfour Declaration. I am not saying whether it is just or unjust that it should be done. But I say that it was not in the power of Great Britain to give it. Therefore, we have referred back to the United Nations to settle this Jewish problem, I hope, once and for all. We have got the Mandate under the League of Nations, and I thought that the proper thing to do when you could not get a settlement was to refer it back to them to settle. I can understand the position of the Jews. It is really a war between Jewry and the gentile, provoked by the horrible treatment of the Jews, not merely by Hitler but by the persecution which has gone on for many years. That is, I think a fair statement of the facts, and it is an international thing. As

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a matter of fact most of the policy in recent years has been run from New York and how can I deal with American nationals? I really cannot. The only way that you could bring the United States, Russia and everybody else, into a position in which this thing was discussed with a view to a settlement, would be if, instead of denouncing Great Britain, they were in a conference room to put their own proposals forward to be accepted or not accepted. I do not know of any other country in the world which have stood with toleration as much as we have had to stand in this business in the last couple of years. However, the issue is sub judice. As I said in the House of Commons, if there had been only 100,000 refugees going in, I could have settled it.

I have been denounced in all newspapers of the world by Jewish representatives as anti-Semitic. I am told that I did not accept the Anglo-American report. Mr. Crossman was a member of the Committee and he knows that America accepted only one point in that report and the other nine points were discarded. I was willing to go on with the ten in the hope that we would find a solution. Now it is sub judice. There it is.

My advice is the advice which was given by Mr. Solomon, who suggested that no resolution be carried on it. Let the thing go. Let U.N.O. deal with it. We shall try to do our best, but I have been asked as to whether I can commit myself to carry out what U.N.O. says. I cannot speak for the Government because we have not decided, but I personally would want to know whether all the other United Nations would accept the solution as well. It is not enough for me on behalf of Great Britain to sit there and accept it, and I want to know, and I shall want to know, whether this thing is settled once and for all. The thing is so bitter, feelings are so high between Jew and Arab, and it is so difficult all over the world that I will say nothing more.

In Egypt something like 400,000 troops have had to be got out of that area as well as the great transit connections which you cannot eradicate in a minute. Those have had to be moved. Feelings were running high. It looked like an explosion every day with the end of the war and the feelings that had developed. I am happy at the fact that the communications, the equipment and the troops have

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been moved out of Alexandria and out of Cairo
 and shifted down on to the Canal without the loss
 of a single soldier and without a row.

Cairo please pass Saving to Jedda and Amman.

Beirut please pass Saving to Damascus.

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E 8643

PALESTINE

Registry Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

E 8643/4746/31

Lydney A.

Abseley

L.M. Bevin

15 Sept 19

Speech at Margate by M. Bevin.

Re broadcasting speech in America, question whether I of A really did say "the Jews are not war with the Gentile world" facts show that speech was misquoted by the "Statesman"

Last Paper

4746

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

opt P.A. Abseley from Pri Sec. (enc) Sept Oct 2

(Action completed)

(Index)

G.L.M. 2/10

3/1/48

Next Paper

(Minutes.)

Text clearly refers to a passage in the S/S's Margate speech of May 29 (see E4746/4740/31), but the quotation is not correct and out of its context.

Draft submitted.

J.S. Bevin Sept. 20

J.B. Oct. 2

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"AUTOMOBILE
LONDON"



WHITEHALL 2345.

JA
17/9
THE ROYAL AUTOMOBILE CLUB,
LONDON, S. W. 1.

15th September, 1947.

The Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall,
LONDON, S.W.1.

E 8643

My dear Mr. Bevin,

Did you really say that "the Jews are
at war with the Gentile world"?

I am broadcasting again in America
shortly, and since I feel sure you were misquoted
by the "Statesman", I wonder whether you could
have your remark verified for me.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

SYDNEY A. MOSELEY

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OUT 23
(E 8643/4749/31)

30
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

29th September, 1947.

Dear Sir,

The Secretary of State has asked me to reply to your letter of 19th September enquiring whether Mr. Bevin had really said that "the Jews are at war with the Gentile world".

This would appear to be a misquotation from Mr. Bevin's speech to the Labour Party Conference at Margate on 29th May. I enclose the relevant extract from this speech which gives the exact words used by Mr. Bevin in their proper context.

yours truly
R.A.C. MacAlpine.

Sydney A. Moseley, Esq.,
The Royal Automobile Club,
S.W.1.

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SEPTEMBER, 1947.

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Registry
No. E 8643/4740/31

L.F.L.P. JB

Draft.

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Dear Sir,

The Secretary of State has asked me to reply to your letter of September 15th enquiring whether Mr. Bevin had really said that "the Jews are at war with the Gentile world". ^{N.P.} This ~~would~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{entirely} ~~correct~~ ^{and} ~~would~~ ^{appear to have been taken from a passage in} Mr. Bevin's speech to the Labour Party Conference at Margate on May 29th. I enclose the relevant extract from this speech ^{which gives the exact words used by Mr. Bevin in their proper context.}

Sydney A. Moseley, Esq.
The Royal Automobile Club,
London, S.W.1

from
Private Secretary

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Enclosure is first para. of text given in F.O. telegram 1050 to Cairo on May 31st. "Reference was made..... I could have settled it"

CMCA 22/9
Private Sec.
first

Ms. Bevin
Sept. 20

PJ
23/9
Yours truly
(Signed) RAC MacAlpine.

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